

## ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

SUBJECT: (Optional)

FROM: A/DO/CA Room 563 Matomia		EXTENSION	NO.
TO: (Officer designation, room number, and building)	DATE		COMMENTS (Number each comment to show from whom to whom. Draw a line across column after each comment.)
	RECEIVED	FORWARDED	
1. Mr. Gordon Mason Sp. Asst. to DDP Room 3C34, HQS		<i>2m</i>	<p>The attached draft column by Bill Buckley will appear in 75 U.S. newspapers, including the Scripps Howard chain, during the week of June 8.</p>
2.			
3. <i>DDP</i>		<i>JKT</i>	<p>The background of this placement is the fact that Buckley worked for me as a Staff Agent in Mexico 1950-51 and we have remained close friends.</p>
4.			
5. <i>Mr. Christian</i>			
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RETURN TO CIA  
Background Use Only  
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NATIONAL  
REVIEW

May 28, 1964

Dear Howard:

Here it is. You will note we had to cut fifteen lines because it was over. But I hope it helps.

Thanks a million for all the work you did on it.

I managed to read only about one-third of the book, and depended on you for the rest.

Give me a ring soon.

Hastily,

Bee

Mr. Howard Hunt

CHARTERED FIFTY EAST THIRTY-FIFTH STREET, NEW YORK 16, N.Y.

14-00000  
ON THE RIGHT - WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR.

*EEC*  
*15-12-2*  
"Invisible Government"

Comes now a book called The Invisible Government, and it turns out to be not a book by an extreme rightwinger (as we have been taught to call them) complaining that this or that organization actually runs the affairs of the government; but a book by a couple of liberals (as we have been taught to call them) who complain that the invisible government in America is our intelligence complex, the ganglion of which is the Central Intelligence Agency. The title of the book, I fear, is a giveaway to the essential cynicism of the authors, a judgment I make with considerable regret since one of them was an old pal of mine in college days. But the thesis that the CIA is an invisible government, an organization which dominates the foreign policy of the United States, is so palpably absurd that one must conclude that the purpose of the book, notwithstanding its sanctimonious pretensions, is simply to make a little scandal, make a little money.

The true scandal lies not in what the authors reveal about the members of the CIA, but in what they reveal about the CIA itself. And the politically interesting aspect of the book is that the CIA comes in for a full-fledged attack from writers whose interests are transparently lie not in pressing the defensive war against the Soviet Union, but in discrediting an agency of the government which is increasingly identified among knowing people as the principal gathering place of knowledgeable anti-Communists.

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I never thought those words would escape from my typewriter, because I have not in the past thought of the CIA as an impressive anti-Communist organization--although I have never believed that the fault lies with it, but rather with the foreign policy of the government. Whether it is fair to say that the CIA has obviously improved during the past four years, or whether it is more accurate to say that the CIA stands out only in refreshing contrast to the foreign policy of the United States, which during this period has become so relaxed as to be ga-ga about the Communist problem, I do not venture to say. The point is that precisely our determination to avoid a hot war against our enemies requires that we make diligent efforts to defend ourselves in the cold war--that we conduct effective psychological warfare; maintain keen intelligence operations; and help our friends fight back against the Communists by means that, many of them, require great secrecy.

Secrecy. The authors of this book do an incredible thing, and I say that, there being apparently no law which will bring home to them the disservice they have done to their country. Some day their consciences will speak to them about the writing of what they have done. In their effort to achieve a lurid sensationalism they have actually named 26 persons who are CIA agents in deep cover. Their names mean absolutely nothing at all to you, or to me, and might just as well, for the purposes of the book, have been spoken about pseudonymously. The same is true of various enterprises that are clandestinely backed by the CIA--they are, in the lingo of the trade, "black." It will not doubt occur to the wags to say that if a couple of enterprising American journalists can find out the identity of CIA personnel and enterprises,

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so can the Russians, and all that is proven is that CIA security procedures are not as tight as they should be. Such an observation is naive: Americans are an open people who, Winston Churchill's phrase, thrive on indiscretion. But it is one thing to reveal the true identity of someone to an American reporter. It is another to reveal it to the world at large. In the world at large there are Communists.

The ostensible thesis of the book is that Congress and the State Department should more closely control the activities of the CIA. I believe the authors' is a phoney concern. The durability of the publication relieves them of any suspicion of sincerity. Their own bias seems to be plainly on the side of those who are criticizing the CIA. That agency's finest hour was the liberation of Guatemala from the Arbenz pro-Communist dictatorship--a success the authors ignore. As they did, in effect, the U-2 operations. Professor Gwen Saitta, whose Senate Committee described an "obscious, articulate agent of the Soviet conspiracy," is referred to simply as a "far leftist" extremist. The authors are especially critical of the efforts by the CIA to liberate Cuba from Castro, and Indonesia from Sukarno.

Granted there are grave problems involved in the operation of a secret organization whose activities are outside the purview of the American people. But The Invisible Government is not a serious book about a serious problem of democracy, but a sensationalist book by authors who verge close to unpatriotism, and whose target suggests, in the shifting context of our time, that that other invisible government which controls the minds and the impulses of so many American Liberals, has picked the CIA as a major target of attack.

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